

l: Karsten--111-112

761, 726

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro

"But thirdly, the Indians use the signal drum to summon their human friends in two events, namely, when a death has taken place in a house and when enemies are [112] making an attack upon it. Since a death is always set down by the Jibaros to the secret machinations of some enemy sorcerer, the situation in the two events is essentially the same. The beating of the drum is a cry for help, or a notification that a crime has been committed. In this third case, i. e. when the drum is beaten for the purpose of giving friends notice of danger, the signalling consists of a series of short, fast strokes in a tone which, in each series, is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. This is repeated several times. This particular mode of signalling is called Pakinmawae."

l: Karsten--260
116, 787, 276, 726

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Even older warriors, who want to know who their enemies are and whether in a war against them they will be victorious, are in the habit of drinking either maikoa or another narcotic drink, prepared from the stem of the vine Banisteria caapi and called natéma. Maikoa, the effects of which are much stronger, is, however, the particular narcotic of warriors. If one asks a Jibaro why he drinks maikoa he will answer: 'I do it in order to kill my enemies' (Shuara matinyu). The Jibaro warrior generally receives the revelations of the spirits while sleeping alone in the virgin forest in a small shelter made of palm leaves, usually situated many miles away from the habitations of the Indians."

1: Karsten--282-283
116, 622, 726

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"The general expression of the Jibaros for a war, and more particularly one that is fought out against a foreign tribe, is meséta, and to make war is nanki hukítinyu, literally 'to carry lance for the combat'.

When a whole tribe, or perhaps several tribes together, prepare a war against one or more other tribes, the first thing done is to elect a common chief. He should be an elderly, experienced man, who has taken part in several wars, killed many enemies, and celebrated at least one victory feast. The rest of the warriors, who are generally younger men, swear him unlimited obedience. During the time the expedition is planned and the preparations are made, the warriors, and especially the chief, repeatedly drink maikoa or natéma to consult the spirits. They pay great attention to their dreams, even to those not produced under the direct influence of the narcotic drinks, tell them to each other, and discuss their possible significance. Only if they believe that they have received favourable answers and all omens are good are measures taken to carry out the war plan conceived. Meanwhile they try, through spies, to acquire as accurate a knowledge as possible about everything concerning the enemy: how many houses there are in the tract, how many fighting men in each house, if the houses are fortified, if the [283] men are well armed, and especially if they have firearms. All these and similar details the spies investigate by making trips into the country of the enemy and by stealing at night to the houses. Everything is prepared

1: Karsten--282-283

116, 622, 726

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Jivaro-2

with the greatest secrecy possible, so that the enemy is caught unprepared, for otherwise he will have time to take measures of defence that may defeat the whole undertaking. "

"About a week before the warriors start for the expedition they assemble every night in the house of the chief, who develops the plan of the war, gives his men the necessary instructions, exhorts them to take courage, not to fear the enemy, not to abandon their comrades, etc. Part of these instructions are given during the war dance or exercise with the lance, which is called Enéma or Anékma (the corresponding verb is enemártinyu or anekmártinyu). Enéma is a dialogue between two warriors, who through certain movements of the body, and especially of their lances, give emphasis to their words. Enéma with the lance (or with a rifle) takes place not only as a preparation for war, but also, for instance, when two Indians, who are unknown to each other, suddenly meet while travelling in the forest (Pl. XXV, 1) or when unknown guests arrive at a house. The one party then has to find out who the newcomer is, if he comes as an enemy or as a friend, from where he comes, where he is going, what business he pursues, etc. The conversation all through has a ceremonial character, and menacing movements with the lance accompany each word or phrase.

The dialogue at the Enéma is rather stereotyped, the words being always about the same and being repeated several times. The following is the Enéma conversation among the tribes of the Upano, Morona, and Pastaza:

Enemártahei, 'Let us speak loudly!'

Chichama hustai, 'Let us speak words!'

Warita kunai, 'What are we going to say?'

Waru irúrtai, 'Let us quickly assemble!'

Tumáshi akérkatai, 'Let us avenge the blood-guilt!'

Kashini kanártai, 'To-morrow we will sleep far away.'

Waru nikápsatai, 'Let us quickly take our enemy!'

Waru, chíchamahúomo, 'Quickly, before he is told about it!'

Unta nu, 'So says the Old One (the chief):'

Waru wakítketai, uchitai, 'Let us go, to return quickly, youths!'

Húomokki, húomokki, 'Quickly, quickly!' [284]

Manyáhei, 'We have been fighting!'

Mahei, 'We have killed!'

Tumáshi ayambruamákahei, 'We have revenged the blood!'

Muka tsupiketai, 'Let us cut off the head (of the enemy)!'

Hukitai, 'Let us carry it with us!'

Enemártinyu (enemártahei) means 'to speak in a loud voice,' which is consistent with the fact that the Indians do not speak in an ordinary voice but shout while carrying out the Enéma conversation. Each phrase is strongly contracted in the pronunciation, so as to consist only of two to four syllables, which naturally makes the conversation entirely unintelligible to one who does not know the words. In return, the phrase thus

1: Karsten--283-285
116, 726

(1916-18) 1935
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Iivaro-3

contracted is repeated twice, corresponding to the movements of the body. Thus, for instance, the beginning of the conversation:

Chichama hustai,
Warita kunai,
Waru irurtai, etc.

assumes the form:

Chamurstai, chamursti,
Waritkunai, waritkuni,
Warurtai, warurti,

and so on.

At the beginning of the conversation the two warriors face each other, each having the lance resting on the right shoulder. They speak by turn. The Indian speaking pronounces the phrase in a loud voice, holding the hand over the mouth. With the right arm, upon which the lance rests, he simultaneously makes a movement as if to give emphasis to the words, but he does not, in the beginning, swing the lance and does not move from the spot. Again, at the second repetition or the latter part of the conversation the following movement takes place. The Indian who is to speak takes one step toward his opponent, beginning with the left foot, simultaneously raises the right arm with the lance and lets it fall vibrating down on the shoulder; immediately thereafter he goes back

to the original position, at the same time again swinging the lance over his shoulder. This whole series of movements is performed quickly and at one time, accompanying the phrase pronounced: charmurstai-charmursti, etc. One of the conversing Indians having several times repeated this movement with its corresponding phrases, he stops and stands still, the other one then speaking. The whole Enéma conversation lasts about ten to fifteen minutes. [285]

When a war expedition is prepared in which many Indians take part, Enéma is performed on a large scale. The warriors arrange themselves in two rows, one opposite the other, so that at the ceremony they converse in twos. If their number is, for instance, 40, 20 are arranged in each row. Enéma is then performed simultaneously by all the warriors of one row, while those of the opposite row stand still with the lances on their shoulders, accompanying the movements and words of the other party with slight gestures of the arms. Having performed the Enéma for some minutes, the men of the first row keep silence and those of the second row speak, etc.

The Enéma conversation, as we have seen, implies a mutual exhortation for war and the future course of the combat is gone through, in which naturally a successful issue of it is anticipated. It is clear that we are not here dealing with an ordinary exercise with the arms. The whole thing is a magical ceremony by which the Jibaros believe they are able to ensure victory over the enemy. By performing Enéma the Jibaro warrior is

supposed to get strength, courage, and confidence for the coming fight. The war dance is, moreover, believed to enable him to escape the lances and bullets of the enemy in the combat. Besides, the enemy himself is thereby lulled into security so that he will not be aware of the danger threatening, but will be surprised by the assailants. Without Enéma preparation no war expedition is believed to result favourably. Hence also, when a house is assaulted by enemies at night, its defenders hurry to perform Enéma with each other before they go to meet the intruding enemy.

About 1 o'clock in the night, when the new day is supposed to begin, the warriors assembled in the house of the chief start to perform Enéma, which they continue until the break of day. This is repeated every night during one week."

1: Karsten--285-286
116, 726, 533

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"Besides this war dance, the Jibaros try to secure victory over the enemy by a kind of war song. This war song, which is called Anéndrata, is sung by the warriors in the house before they start on the expedition.

The Anéndrata runs as follows:

Yachuta, yachuta, 'My brother, my brother, '

Meseta himersatai, 'Let us make war together!'

Winya uchiruna chichahei, 'To my son also I have said:'

Uchita, uchita, 'My son, my son, ' [286]

Kákarum hasti, kákarum hasti, 'Make you strong, make you brave!'

Winyaka mastinyu, 'Me they won't kill!'

Wika misérchatinyu, 'I will not die!'

Shuara makatahei, 'Myself I will kill my enemy!'

Kánárahei, kánárahei, 'I have dreamed and my dreams have been good.'

Arútama weinikama, 'I have seen "the Old Ones!"'(1)

Shuara achiktahei, 'I will capture my enemy!'

"1. The Old Ones (arátama), the spirits of the ancestors, who appear to the warrior in the narcotic sleep and tell him that he will be able to kill his enemies."

1: Karsten--285-286
116, 726, 533

(1916-18) 1935
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Jivaro-2

Yamai achikahei, 'I have him already!'

Manyasa puhustahei, 'Presently I will be engaged in fighting!'

Watski, shuarasha winit, winit, 'All right, may my enemy come, may he come!'

Winyasha mandoati, 'And may he take my life if he can!'

Winya mandoama assa, 'If he kills me, '

Uchi weinikati, 'my sons will certainly see (that it will be avenged). '

Chikichika mati, 'May he kill some one else!'

Anéndrata has much the same magical significance as the war dance enéma, it being believed to give victory over the enemy. "

"The warriors, moreover, prepare for the expedition by drinking much manioc-beer (nihamanchi), as they do for all big journeys, without, however, getting too drunk. They likewise take much tobacco, partly in the form of tobacco water, which is drawn in through the nose, partly in the form of cigars, which are smoked.

The preparations of the men take place in the large ante-room of the house (tangá-masha). The women the whole time remain in the interior department (department of the women, ekinturu) and do not mix in the activities of the men. The Jibaros on the Upano told me they do not even take leave of their wives before they start on the expedition. If the chief has a wife who is particularly attached to him she may, however, come out, embrace her husband, weeping, and say: 'Perhaps you will be killed by the enemy and never return.' The chief then consoles her, saying, 'I have had good dreams; I won't be killed, but will return with the heads of my enemies. Meanwhile stay you here, quietly making clay vessels'. (2) [287]

The Jibaro chief Nayapi, on the Rio Pastaza, told me that among his people the warrior, starting on an expedition, takes tender leave of his wife, embracing her and

"2. As if she were already making preparations for the coming victory feasts. The making of clay vessels is the principal preparation of the women for all feasts.

1; Karsten--286-287

116, 726

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Jivaro-2

consoling her, but at the same time preparing her for the eventuality that he, perhaps, will never return and never see her again. "

l: Karsten--287

116, 726, 789, 462, 535

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Among the Jibaros of the Pastaza it is also customary for the women during the whole time the men are absent on the war-path to assemble every night in one house and perform a special dance with rattles of snail's shells around the waist and chanting conjurations. This war dance of the women, which is called Ihiámbrama, is supposed to have the power of protecting their fathers, husbands, and sons against the lances and bullets of the enemy, of lulling the latter into security so that he will not apprehend the danger before it is too late, and lastly of preventing him from taking revenge (ayam-bruamáktinyu) for the defeat inflicted upon him. The dance Ihiámbrana thus has much the same magical significance as the war dance Enéma and the war song Anendrata."

1: Karsten--287 [2]

116, 726

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Jivaro

"The warriors march from the house of the chief in a single row, going one after the other, and strictly observing silence. The chief goes out last and shuts the door. During the whole journey to the scene of the war, a journey that takes several days, sometimes even weeks, the warriors are allowed to speak only when necessary, and even then not in a loud voice but in a whisper. Only the chief has the right to speak in a loud voice when at the camping places he gives his men the necessary instructions. As soon as the warriors arrive at the place where they propose to camp that night they arrange themselves in two rows, keeping silence. The chief walks along the rows and gives his instructions, exposes the details of the attack planned and, above all, tries to dispel fear from the young warriors and to inspire them with courage. Although on the march to the war the chief no longer drinks maikoa or natéma, he still pays great attention to his dreams and from them tries to derive favourable presages. Thus he may with the following words try to inspire his people with courage and confidence: 'Take courage and don't fear, for I dreamed this night that I saw the great eagle (unta pinchu) and the tucan (tsukánga). They told me that we are going to take a wakáni (a soul). You are not going to die; you are going to be victors and to kill your enemies.'"

"On the eve of the day fixed for the attack the warriors arrange their dress. The Jibaro always pays great attention to his dress and his orna-[288]ments, which form a part of his personality, and at the feasts the dressing has a ceremonial character.

When the Jibaro warrior prepares for an attack against an enemy he puts on his head a sort of cap made of monkey's skin, which he prefers to the ordinary head ornament made of parrot or tucan feathers (tawása). The ear-tubes ought to be as large as possible so that their ends nearly reach the shoulders. Around the neck the warrior wears a necklace of jaguar's teeth and round the waist the usual cincture of human hair (akáchu). Old warriors, however, for an attack prefer to cincture themselves with a broad belt of the skin of the great boa. The uncovered part of the body, the face, the breast, the back, the arms, and legs, are finally painted black with genipa (sua).

The hair is divided into the three usual pigtales, and they are tied round with broad bands adorned with tucan feathers and human hair, or with cotton strings which are dyed red with roucu. The Jibaros on the Pastaza and the Canelos Indians, for a battle, are in the habit of tying round the pigtales or the hair broad strips of bast obtained from a plant which the former call chipyáta, the latter chilipanga. These strips of bast, which are of bright colour, are partly used as signs by which the warriors, in the darkness and in the heat of battle, are able to distinguish friends from foes, and are also worn because of some mysterious power ascribed to them or to the plant from which they are taken."

"Having arrived at the tract inhabited by the hostile tribe the warriors, if possible, try to surprise and kill particular persons belonging to the tribe, who, unaware of the danger, happen to be outside the houses, working in the plantations or walking in the forest. The proper attacks are, however, according to the general custom of the Indians, made at night or early in the morning, a little before dawn. Keeping strict silence, the enemies surround the house and lie in ambush in the immediate neighbourhood of it, expecting that someone will come out and open the door. That person is then instantly killed by a lance or a rifle shot, whereupon the enemies speedily penetrate into the house and massacre the rest of its inhabitants. If it proves impossible to penetrate into the house by treachery, the enemies set fire to it by firebrands thrown upon its thatching, obliging the inhabitants to leave it and killing them during the confusion that follows. If in this way the assailants have been able to kill all the people in one house, and there is no fear of other Indians coming to the rescue, they may go to the next house and continue the massacre, for, as already pointed out, the wars carried out against foreign tribes always aim at completely exterminating the enemy if possible.

However, the enemy is not always in this way surprised and unprepared, and is not always annihilated without resistance. Thus the measures of defence described above, may, at least to a certain extent, frustrate the plans of the attacking party.

Not seldom the inhabitants of the house, through the dogs and the hens or in some

1: Karsten--289-290
116, 726

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Jivaro-2

other way, get knowledge of the presence of the enemy, and the latter may then to his disappointment suddenly hear the beats of the great signal drums in the fast time which is a sure sign for friends that the people of the house are in danger. The assailants then have to choose between quickly retiring, or pursuing the attack and engaging [290] in a fight the result of which, owing to the possibility of help arriving, is uncertain."

"However, if the enemy [JKM: hostile tribe of warriors] has already surrounded the house, there is little hope for those shut up in it to be saved through the intervention of friends. Their possibility of salvation then consists almost solely in breaking through the besieging ring and speedily fleeing to another house or into the forest. Before making this desperate attempt, however, all inhabitants of the house, men, women, and children, assemble to perform, in haste, a certain dance. Holding each other by the hands they move in a circle in the house in the way customary at most Indian dances, chanting or making a noise and playing a set of flutes made of the leg bone of the jaguar, called tungüi. The words uttered, or rather shouted, are the following:

Masteitimi, 'They won't kill us!'

Mandoastatami, 'They won't take our lives!'

Wuittatai, 'They will retire!'

Hinikitali, 'We shall be able to escape!'

The object of this ceremony is to 'tire out the enemy' (shuara pimbiktinyu), so that he gives up the plan of attacking the house and retires. Sometimes it also happens that the besieging enemies who, of course, understand what the dancing and shouting in the house mean, lose courage, give up the plan of attack, and draw off.

Immediately after the dance mentioned has been performed the inhabitants of the house try to escape through one or both of its doors. As soon as the ambushing enemies

notice this, they incite each other with cries:

Shuara hiniwai, 'The enemy leaves the house!'

Awuimaipa, 'Don't let them escape!'

Ihuta, ihuta, ihuta, 'Lance them, lance them!'

During the ensuing fight it may happen that some or the majority of the people in the house are able to save themselves in the darkness and the confusion. Generally, however, some old man or some women, who are not able to run quickly enough, get into the hands of the pursuing enemy, being killed or captured. If the victors are satisfied with this spoil, or if for one reason or another they do not venture to continue the attack, they speedily retire, carrying with them one or more heads which they have cut off or some captured woman, and giving triumphant war cries:[291]

Hetéktatai, 'May they now pursue us!'

Aimiayahei, 'Now we carry off their comrade!'

Yuhi, uyúhi, uyúhi!

Tuo, tuo, tuo! (War cries.)

It is, however, only if the attacked people have been surprised completely and know they are absolutely inferior to the enemy that they try in this way to save themselves by flight. In other cases it happens that the attacking enemy is received by a number of well-prepared and well-armed warriors who, after having in a hurry performed the

1: Karsten--290-291
116, 726 .

(1916-18) 1935
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Jivaro-3

Enéma, gallantly go out to meet the assailants. A fierce hand-to-hand fight then ensues, in which friends and enemies mix with each other in the darkness, and the noise of arms is drowned by the inciting war cries of the men, by the cries of the women and the children, and by the barking of the dogs. "

"Sometimes both sides in a feud become weary of the fighting and the affair is officially terminated by means of a peace ceremony during which a lance is buried. The actual interring of the lance is done by the wishinu, who goes into the forest at night and buries it in a spot known only to himself. The lance is supposed to carry with it the animosity of the feud. Unfortunately, it usually happens that all of the ill feeling is not buried, so that generally it is not long before some event transpires which causes the feud to break out anew."

"During the lance ceremony much nijimanche is drunk, warlike songs are sung, threats are made against the enemy, and the wrongs that have been suffered are rehearsed. All of the relatives of the wronged person assemble and take an active part in the ceremony. In the dances accompanying the ceremony only lances are carried, the guns being kept apart. It is interesting in this connection to note that the chonta palm, of which the lances are made, contains tsarutama; those made entirely of chonta wood possessing more supernatural power than the lances with iron heads. The lances are frequently decorated with markings which indicate the fierce spirits whose power they contain."

2: Stirling--53

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

116, 756, 726

"When the wishinu has decided that the proper time has arrived for the fight, those intending to participate are notified. The day before they leave, the curaka takes nati-ma. While under its influence the spirits speak to him and give him advice calculated to help in the combat. In the event that the curaka is too old to fight, or is sick, he names the most able fighter in his group to act in his place as a war leader."

2:Stirling--53 [2]
116, 714, 726, 301

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"While the curaka is preparing for his session with the natima the warriors all paint their bodies black with sua. Sua is also placed in the hair, and the hair is carefully washed and combed. All of the finest hair decorations and ear ornaments are put on so that in the event their head is taken during the battle they will have nothing about which to be embarrassed. Near midnight a dance begins in which all the warriors take part. The dancers line up facing each other in two lines of equal length. This is a warlike dance which serves the purpose of stirring the fighters into a frenzy and builds up their morale for the impending struggle. With appropriate gestures they shout and make threats against the enemy and statements calculated to inspire themselves with confidence, such as: 'Tomorrow we are going to war! Tomorrow we will kill! In this manner will I kill him! Tomorrow we make tsantsas!' During the dancing the curaka plays on the big telegraph drum, being the only person permitted to play it at this time."



"At dawn the dance ends and the warriors prepare to leave. Each man is accompanied by a woman bearing nijimanche in earthenware jars. From this time until the beginning of the attack no one speaks except the curaka, who does so only to give the necessary orders and advice. Only the curaka bids farewell to the women remaining in the house; the others are silent. They leave the house in single file, each man followed by a woman. The curaka is the last to leave and he brings up the rear of the file at all times on the march. When all of the war party have started the curaka closes the door of the house.

As soon as the party has gone the women remaining in the house begin to dance and sing songs of victory, meanwhile playing the small drum. This is continued until the return of the warriors. With the women are the old men and children and any others who may be incapacitated for the fight."

"When the attacking party arrives in enemy territory they walk carefully without making a sound or breaking a twig. Walking in single file, each steps exactly in the footprints of the person ahead. They do not travel on the trails but keep well to one side in order to avoid pitfalls, spring traps, and set-guns. As they approach the enemy house their presence usually is made known by the dogs, which have been posted for this purpose. The approach is made in the dark, as the attack is usually made just at dawn.

The people within the house, expecting the enemy, have kept the fires down and the house dark. When they become aware of the attackers lurking about, the defenders join hands within the house and commence a dance to the music of a flute made from the leg bone of a jaguar, which is supposed to carry with it the magical fighting force of the animal it represents. As they dance, they sing songs of defiance. The enemy are accused of being cowards, while at the same time they extol their own bravery, predicting that because of fear the attackers will run away.

Hearing these taunts, the attackers are made still more angry. They reply in similar vein, contradicting the statements of the defenders. Frequently some of the attackers, who are not particularly strong-hearted, become frightened and return home. There does not seem to be much stigma attached to such an action but it adds nothing to their prestige.

The statements and conversation exchanged on these occasions are reduced by custom to rather definite formulae. A typical exchange goes much like this: Defenders--'Come!

Come! We have the power of jaguars. The anaconda is with us also! '--then they shoot their guns in the direction of the enemy, saying, 'Take this--and this! We have plenty of ammunition! Go away! Go away! Take nijimanche in your own house!' They whistle shrilly. The attackers reply, firing their guns in the direction of the house, saying: 'No! No! We will take nijimanche in your house! We prefer it right here!'

If the attacking party feels that they are outnumbered, or if they are short of ammunition, the attack is not made directly but they will lay siege to the house, concealing themselves and firing at intervals, sometimes for as long as a week, until the defenders run short of water and food. The Jivaros rarely have the foresight to provide themselves with these commodities in sufficient quantities to withstand a siege. During the siege, if anyone tries to leave the house, they are, of course, fired upon. The besieging party are tended by their women, who bring them food and nijimanche. When the defenders have used up the last of their food and drink, an old woman or a boy is sent out to see if the besieging party is still [55] around. As a rule, this individual is not molested because the attackers prefer the defenders to think that they have deserted.

The attackers frequently resort to the stratagem of pretending to go away, sending some of their men to fire shots at a distance who then quietly sneak back to their places. It is usually after such a ruse that the investigator is sent out. When nothing happens, the women leave the house to gather food in the chacra and to get more water. At the

moment the women have left the house the attackers make a rush for the door. Sometimes they pretend to run away and those in the house run out after them. After allowing themselves to be chased until the defenders are well clear of the house they turn about suddenly and the fight is held in the open.

Another ruse utilized by a force which is outnumbered is for its various members to run rapidly here and there over a long line, firing in as many different places as possible and shouting things calculated to indicate the presence of a large force. This stratagem is usually employed by a small group of men who have been attacked in the woods by a large party.

Under normal conditions the attacking party will consider themselves of equal or superior strength to the defending party. As soon as the first light of dawn begins the exchange of taunts ceases and the attack begins. The assault is made with as much rapidity as possible, the attackers shouting loudly in order to bolster up their own courage and at the same time to terrify the enemy. As the house is rushed, guns are thrown aside and only lances are used. Once the house is entered, a scene of great confusion transpires. The dogs are barking, women screaming and crying, the fighters shouting, the old men pleading for protection and shouting advice to their defenders. Children under 7 years of age are lanced and thrown aside. All of the men possible are killed, as are the old women. Only the young and desirable women are spared. Young women are also killed if they take too active a part in the combat. The attacking party always at-

2: Stirling--54-55
116, 726

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Jivaro-4

tempts to kill the wishinu first. They fear his power and their confidence is greatly increased when he has been eliminated."

"As soon as notification has been received of an impending attack, dogs are tied up all around the clearing. If, while awaiting attack, a dog barks or growls, an old woman is sent out to investigate. When the attack takes place, if the defending party is victorious, they, of course, kill as many of the attackers as they can and, when the remainder have been routed, they will follow them into the woods in the hope of killing more. They do not, however, conduct a raid to the attackers' house. After the attackers have been thoroughly routed the defending party return to their own house, where tsantsas are prepared from the heads of the enemy who have been killed and a consequent celebration is held. While this is going on the wishinu takes natima in order to find out when the enemy will reorganize and [61] reattack, for the vanquished, by virtue of their defeat, have that much added to the vengeance which it is required of them to take, and, if possible, they will later make another attempt, usually with redoubled vigor."

2: Stirling--115[3]

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

116, 756, 726

"In time of war an attacking party always attempts to kill the shaman or wishinu of their enemies as early in the fight as possible, so as to free themselves from possible injury by the spirits which he controls."

4: Up de Graff--247

(1897) 1923

Jivaro

116, 756, 726

"In times of war, the medicine man accompanies the fighting men (he fights himself, too) to cast spells on the enemy, to foretell victory (invariably), and to render his comrades-in-arms immune from hostile influence. Finally, he alone can make the pots in which the fruits of battle, the heads of the enemy slain, must be treated."

"Sweeping along under the right bank came fifty-five Jivaro canoes in single file, a huge serpent moving with perfect rhythm. [251]

Tuhimpui, as we soon learned was the leader's name, landed on the point of the island, stuck his spear head-down in the sand, and advanced for a friendly pow-wow. His great following had shown a keen desire to overrun our refuge at his heels, but I had ordered him, at first sign of such a movement taking place, to command his party to retire to the main bank, and await the result of our parley. We were perfectly safe as long as we kept a strip of water between us. So the pow-wow began. The Aguaruna chief bore himself with conscious pride of office. His manner had not a trace of servility. He, by reason of his position and his knowledge of Inca had been elected as spokesman, and he was every bit as good as any apache.

'We have heard that you have come searching for gold,' he began. 'Here on this river are very many Huambizas, evil men, who kill the apaches and steal their women. I myself have talked with the apaches and been to Barranca, and I know. You will be killed, so we have come here to take you back to safety. The Huambizas carry weapons such as yours' (indicating by signs and sound the firing of a rifle). [252]

'I have heard,' I replied, 'of the great chief Tuhimpui down-river, and know him to be a friend of the white man. Clearly has he proved his friendship once more by coming on this errand fraught with perils to give us his advice and protection. To prove our mutual regard, we must drink together.'

The rum-barrel is produced, and a stiff drink handed out.

It is a curious fact, and one which throws a good deal of light on the much-discussed alcohol question, that any ignorant savage in the world will appreciate to the full his first drink of rum. It would appear that there is something in the natural constitution of man that answers to the call of alcohol.

'I would have you know,' I went on, 'that we appreciate your offer, but that we fear no Huambizas nor any other; we come in peace, but if attacked we know how to defend ourselves.'

The chief retires to the water's edge, and calls across to a fellow chief to put over to the island to consult with him. In the long line of canoes the warriors sit, watching the proceedings.

'Midia, midia,' cries Tuhuiimpui (come, come), and an Antipa chieftain steers his canoe across the stream.

I have joined my comrades in the shelter and we discuss my interpretation of the pow-wow. We decide that we must try and get the whole war-party to go up-stream with us; their help would be invaluable.

In a few moments I am back talking with Tuhuiimpui, who has returned from his conference with the Antipa.

'We are a war-party, come to kill the Huambizas.' Tuhuiimpui turns with childlike simplicity to this new story.

'We will help you, then, for they are our common [253] enemy,' I answered. 'Let us join forces and push on together.'

Thus we struck a bargain. We were far from being deceived as to what was the real object of our new allies. Once more that canoe-load of presents was shaping the destinies of men. But all the same it suited us to avail ourselves of their help to penetrate further up-river, laden as we were with heavy stores."

"Next morning we started. All day long we sat and watched the great rhythmic strokes of the paddles, as the canoes flew along. Our escort was composed of some two hundred men of the Aguarunas and Antipas, evidently two parties which, finding each other bent on a common mission (which needs no explanation) had joined hands. By day they mingled so that there was no distinguishing the two parties, but by night they camped apart, suspicious, probably, of each other for they are natural enemies. Each carried with him a new loin-cloth, a rouge-pot, feather ear-ornaments, a záparo (rattan basket --Inca) of giamanchi, a spear, and a half gourd for a drinking-cup. Some had blow-guns with them also. They were for the most part naked. They were an impressive-looking crowd, and they took very little notice of us white men, with the exception of their chiefs with whom we had all our dealings.

The first day, everything seemed to go swimmingly. In the late afternoon we drew up on a sand-bar and pitched camp. Tuhumpui volunteered to provide the game throughout the journey, and he certainly made a good start that day. He advised us not to use our rifles for hunting, as they might carry news of our whereabouts to the Huambizas, which seemed to us fair enough. We had our choice of supper from a great pile of game of all kinds--turkeys, pheasants, monkeys and wild hogs, principally--and selected what we wanted [254] before the rest was removed from before our tent. After supper, the chief came along with a basin-full of giamanchi; we were to drink deep of the comforting preparation and sleep in peace, while the Indians kept watch all night! To escape from

this doubtful blessing, I mixed a cup of condensed milk as a counter offer. If there is one thing which a Jívaro abhors it is canned food in any shape or form. The trick worked, for no more was said of drinks that night.

And how could he be expected--I went on, after disposing of the giamanchi difficulty--to find the guard all night, and leave us to sleep in slothful ease? Surely to this we could never consent. We would do our fair share. Indeed he must warn his men not to approach to within fifty yards of our camp, for our sentries would fire on suspicion--and who could distinguish between enemy and friend at night? In the common cause we must take half the burden on our shoulders, and we must carry it well. Too much care could not be taken now that we were so near the enemy, and what a disaster it would be if in our zeal we killed some of our own friends! No, there was no getting away from the fact that they must be very careful not to approach our bivouac at night."

"On the 26th of October, no sign of the Huambisas had yet been seen. During the morning of that day we were paddling along in the usual formation, Indian file, when suddenly a commotion started among the leading canoes, followed by a 'trombone concert.' Something which had been picked up out of the water was being handed round for inspection. On pushing up to the front of the column, we found that the centre of interest was indeed worthy of attention. It was no less than a piece of charred wood. So at last we were in touch with the enemy. After a lot of talk it was decided that we should push on and try and find the probable point from which it had drifted.

Paddling ahead for the remainder of the morning, we halted on a very long sand-bar for a mid-day rest. There was a feeling of war in the air. The Jivaro party seemed to have settled down at last with a will to the prospect of attacking their long-standing enemies. There remained but one stepping-stone to be crossed before they would reach a state of white-hot zeal for the attack--the omens must be read."

"The meal over, the Indians disappeared into the forest which came down to the edge of the sand. In a few moments they were back, each man carrying a branch from a tree which bears a small green berry. (I was never able to identify it.) Some of the berries they stripped from the twigs, and the branches themselves they planted in the sand in a long straight line parallel with the river. Tuhimpui strolled up to me unconcernedly. 'We are going to make it rain,' he said simply. 'I hope you will not bring down enough to drench us and our cargo,' I said with mock solemnity. 'Never fear,' came his grave answer, 'only a light shower. To-night it shall rain and thunder and blow, but before we summon the storm, we shall build you a house.'

I was taken aback to say the least of it, for it seemed to me that he had very little hope of success, for all the effect a row of branches would have on a clear blue sky, the same sky which had smiled on us since we turned up the Santiago from the Marañon. In deference to his gravity, however, I said nothing more. On the contrary, I persuaded Jack and the rest to come along with me and take part in the show. So we cut our branches (we were not allowed to bring any but the right kind) and planted them.

The berries which they had pulled the Jívaros put into snails' shells, and threw into the river with a good deal of tom-foolery in the way of chanting and solemn gesture. (We used to call this kind of thing 'monkey-business').

And then we simply embarked in the canoes and left the playa to itself.

Within half an hour, gentle rain fell. A light cloud had gathered I know not whence

for the first time for three weeks. Now it may be said that it was a pure coincidence, but it was at the same time very strange that Tuhuimpui's efforts should so strikingly produce a result after so many perfect days had passed. It should be remembered that the rainy season does not set in, properly speaking, until the middle of January. Even down to the smallest detail the Aguaruna chief was right. [262]

The gentlest of sun-showers fell that afternoon--enough to freshen us all up, but only enough. Morse and I discussed the process of rain-making with the Indians. We discovered that Tuhuimpui had been making a test of his favour with the god Yacu-Mámam, the controller of Rivers and Rain, and that had he left the newly cut branches planted in the playa below to wither and die, our attack would never have been made. Without the River God's help, disaster would have overtaken us; but this gentle shower to refresh the tokens planted for his favour was his answering sigh of approval and protection in their mooted ventures.

'You see the power I wield,' grinned Tuhuimpui, finally. Suddenly his manner changed. Gravely he gave utterance to the sentiment which lies closest to the heart of every Jívaro. 'Now indeed we shall return with many heads'.... But in a moment he was boasting again. 'This is nothing to what will fall to-night,' he said mysteriously. 'It will thunder, there will be lightning; a great wind will blow; a storm will rage; Yacu-Mámam will smile on me.' "

"By six o'clock that evening we had found what the Jívaros had been looking for since we picked up the piece of charcoal. We discovered the mouth of a stream which ran into the Santiago, covered so effectually with heavy undergrowth that it was invisible from the centre of the main river. Why, I do not know, but the Antipas and Aguarunas who guided our destiny decided at once that this was where the enemy was to be found. So a scouting party of four picked men was told off to take a canoe and spy out the land. They slid off noiselessly [263] and disappeared in the gloom of the forest vault, moving with the catlike stealth of men who know that detection means death.

The chiefs signed to the rest of us to make for the bank of the Santiago opposite the mouth of the stream. Here we left the canoes, climbing ashore with great care on logs which had fallen over the bank, so as to leave no trail. Tuhimpui was very particular that we should land in this way, himself supervising the operation. Next, a party of Jívaros collected all the canoes, moored them to the trees with bejco strands, and half-filled them with mud dug from the water's edge. They sank from sight one by one, until of all that gallant array of craft there was no sign left. The bejucos appeared to be but vines which had lost their hold and fallen into the river--only a tiny detail of the vast network of tangled undergrowth which chokes the forest from end to end of the Amazon basin. The Antipas withdrew in the tracks of the main party which had moved into the forest, and anyone passing the spot in dugouts five minutes later could never have suspected the presence of a war-party."

"Dusk was gathering by this time. Tuhuimpui, in solemn preparation for the storm which was due to rise, ordered the building of shelters for all his men and a specially well-built one for his white allies. In an hour the camp was pitched--one half for the Aguarunas, the other for the Antipas, our own shelter in the middle. Each of them was about thirty yards from us. We set to work to thin out the undergrowth all round our camp by way of precaution. There was no knowing what these friends of ours might be doing if rain fell a second time at their bidding! We felt cramped, too, and hedged in by darkness after the safety of the river and open playas. I think as a matter [264] of fact, that in their anxiety to be after the Huambizas, they had by this time forgotten us more or less, or at any rate relegated us to a place of secondary importance; we should come in handy after the Huambizas had been routed, perhaps."

"We lit fires round our shelter, as the Jívaros themselves had done, and sat up for many an hour, spectators of the weirdest scene I have ever witnessed.

Tuhuimpui arrived at our shelter with a great gourd full of what looked for all the world like chutney sauce.

'We are going to paint,' he announced. A short interrogation sufficed to satisfy myself that this was huito, a kind of giant walnut, of which the outer shell contains a stain or dye, in just the same way as a butternut or a black walnut. The thorny root of a palm is used as a grater to reduce the outer shell to pulp. With this the skin can be dyed jet-black, simply by rubbing it in in the wet state. All the Jívaro tribes use it to paint themselves for battle, and are indeed loath to attack without doing so. It may be that they want a distinguishing sign so that in the excitement and confusion of the fight in close country a glance will suffice to tell friend from foe. I think, however, that this is a very unlikely explanation of the custom. [265] It is more probably a part of the usual panoply of war in which all savage tribes indulge.

The same huito is used extensively in the small towns, villages, and posts of Ecuador and Peru bordering on the Jívaro territory, by half-castes who are not as dark as the Indians, nor yet as light as the Spanish. They (chiefly women) stain their faces, necks, arms and hands with it in the belief that when it comes off it takes some of the black with it. They go about their ordinary occupations with it on, it being accepted by all as powder is on the beach. So durable is the stain that only time will bring it off; three weeks

or a month are required to efface it altogether. This temporary sacrifice of appearance is willingly made in their desire to cast off the taint of Indian blood.

We all readily agreed to paint up in preparation for the attack on the morrow. So we stripped, determined to do the thing thoroughly, and each saw to it that his companions did not overlook any odd corners. Even Jack's bald spot did not escape attention. The effect of the application of this dye is not immediately apparent. So it was not till morning that we noticed any change in our appearance. The rising sun, however, revealed to us the full possibilities of huito. Not only our skin, but even our hair and eyes seemed to have changed color overnight. We laughed till we were nearly sick. The Jívaros hearing the uproar, thought we were having a war-dance of our own. Tuhuiimpui came over and inspected us, surveying with a face unmoved a scene the absurdity of which no white man could have resisted."

"But to return to the night's vigil. A moment after Tuhimpui left us, he returned to tell us of the safe arrival of the scouting party. The enemy had been [266] located. The scouts had approached to within a few yards of a small settlement and had actually counted the warriors. With consummate skill they had withdrawn unseen. Had I not had so many personal experiences of these men's amazing skill in scouting, I should not have believed it possible for any living thing larger than a humming-bird to approach within ear-shot of a Jivaro in the forest.

Having painted themselves from head to foot, the Indians began to prepare themselves for the war-dance. Each camp built a huge fire, and supplies of fuel for the long night were stacked beside the shelters. At a given signal every man leapt to his feet, grabbed his spear, and all joined in a great capering throng about the blazing fires; with raucous yells they danced and danced and danced, two bounding swaying circles careering round the blaze, spears shaken in grim emphasis of the threats they hurled at their unsuspecting enemies.

Now the whole crowd would be scampering round the flames, now a few tireless warriors who had outlasted their fellows; sometimes a solitary enthusiast would prance and yell to the delight of the squatting onlookers, uttering curses and vowing vengeance on the Huambizas who had stolen from him a wife."

"Suddenly with a clap of thunder the promised storm broke on the scene. Here was everything that Tuhimpui had predicted--one of those summer storms of great intensity but short duration which occur in the tropics alone. Once more the necromancer's spell had worked. Even as he had said, the wind raged and the rain fell in sheets to the accompaniment of the thunder and the vivid lightning. So great was the fury of the elements that we had to post a sentry outside our shelter to warn us of falling limbs. All around [267] the cave they came crashing down--any one of them enough to obliterate us and our puny cover.

In half an hour it had passed, and we were out again, uncovering the fire and restoring it to life while the dying wind swept the last drops of moisture from the forest roof. It had passed, but left behind in every Jivaro heart an undying faith in the prowess of their chief. Sure of their victory now, the savages bounded to the dance with redoubled energy, cavorting and pirouetting in a mad frenzy of hatred and battle-lust. All night long they kept it up, a pack of tireless demons. We on our part had no recourse but to sit with our rifles at hand and wait for dawn. Sleep had no charms for us while that waking delirium possessed the Indians, fanned to white-heat by the splendid augury of the storm.

It is useless for me to attempt an explanation of the prodigious success with which Tuhimpui met that day. I cannot allow that it was merely a case of coincidence. The correctness in detail of his prognostications may suffice to confound that theory. No;

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either he knew by some sixth sense which many animals possess that there was rain somewhere near (a thing almost unbelievable, since there was apparently no difference in the barometric conditions of that day and the preceding days) or else he was able to detect the coming of the rain by a minute observation of the movements of certain animals, or even insects, signs which would mean nothing to any but the most highly trained child of the woods."

"With the coming of dawn, groups of weary savages were to be seen lying about and preparing leisurely for the fight. Exhausted by the night's revelry, they seemed but poorly fitted for the trials of battle. But our ideas [268] of battle differ very markedly from theirs. The long strain of a modern engagement is a thing undreamed of by these lovers of cunning and surprise. For us it may be a matter of days or weeks, for them it is one of minutes.

Here and there they strolled round the dying embers, busy with rouge-pots, feathers and loin-cloths, black from head to foot with the huito which had taken effect during the night hours, their black pointed teeth bared in a grin of anticipation--a band of veritable demons straight from Hell. But grouped round the fire which still burned before the central shelter of the camp was a company of creatures which fell not far behind them. Tousled, bewhiskered, stained the same ebony black, we sat and cooked our breakfast. Game, it was agreed, outstripped the rest of us in hideousness. With his mop of sandy hair, a three month's old ginger beard, blue eyes, great thick-set body half-clothed in ragged shirt and pants, every inch of skin as black as night, he was indeed a fearsome creature."

"Breakfast over--for the Jívaros a drink of giamanchi sufficed--we all moved off to the water's edge. The moment had come for the attack. The savages with their new loin-cloths, rouged faces, tufts of lumbiqui feathers (red and yellow balls of fluff) in their ears, looked a formidable company. Quietly we raised the dugouts, and made across to a sand-spit which extended from the mouth of the stream, up which we were to go, to a point some two hundred yards down-stream, an excellent base for the day's operations. Here a party [269] composed of old men and boys was told off to guard the canoes. Of the latter I have said nothing. A few lads of nine or ten years of age accompanied the party to learn the art of war from their fathers. It was manifest throughout the trip that they were happy and proud to have been called to an apprenticeship in the chief business of life.

Led up by the scouts who had come in the night before, in a long single file, we made our way into the forest, and moved up the left bank of the stream. According to plan the savages split up into two parties, the Antipas made off into the jungle on a detour, to take as their objective the further of the two settlements which had been selected for the raid, while the Aguarunas clung to the bank of the stream, moving on the nearer. We (black) white men brought up the rear of this latter column under the personal supervision of Tuhimpui, who lived in fear and trembling of our clumsy movements. Game alone, had he come within a quarter of a mile of the enemy before the surprise had been sprung, would have queered the pitch. It was one of his whims never to go barefoot,

with the result that he was forever the victim of his own shoes. They caught in the vine-roots, they were sucked off his feet by the mud, they slipped in the moss and they were ever half-full of dirt--an interminable nuisance which their owner could never be persuaded to abandon. Tuhimpui protested in vain, while Game went crashing through the undergrowth with the delicacy of a tapir. At last it was too much for our chief. He stopped us. We were to wait till the attack had begun."

"No sooner had we halted than there came to our ears the whang-whang of a machete on wood. So we were actually within earshot of a settlement at last. [270]

It is at this point in my narrative that I must pause a moment to make a few comments on Jivaro methods of warfare. They are utterly distasteful to the white man--the true white man who is brought up to a code of fair play. The attackers display no bravery, the attacked have no chance to defend themselves. As a cat creeps up behind a bird which is digging up worms, so the Jivaro attacks his enemy. A square hand-to-hand fight he will not entertain. With all his paint and feathers he is, unlike the North American Indian, a coward at heart. I must have given the impression in the foregoing pages that our heart was in the business; but such was not the case. We used the war-party for our own ends--they were our only means of getting up-river with our kit, once Pitacunca had deserted us. To have left them to attack the Huambizas alone would have been to stamp ourselves in their eyes as cowards. To have turned them from their purpose would have been to place ourselves between two enemies, each waiting as anxiously as the other for our heads. So there was nothing for it but to indulge Tuhimpui's caprice in the hope that the affair would prove to be but an incident in our onward movement.

So we sat and listened to that single distant clanging of steel on wood, the only sign of human life in all that vast forest into which a moment ago two hundred men had melted. Whang-whang came the sharp-cut noise of the blade falling on a paddle which was

never to be finished.

With a hideous yell the van of the attackers leapt from cover, a bare ten yards from the nearest of their prey. We jumped to our feet at a word from Tuhuimpui, and in a moment were rushing to the scene of the slaughter. (The moment was a tragic one for Game, who left his [271] shoes in the mud, only one of which he ever recovered.) We never fired a shot, either in attack or defence that day. When we arrived at the scene of action, we found that the settlement, a mere handful of savages, male and female, had been rushed. The game was up."

"Our warrior friends made the best use of the remaining hours of daylight to fortify themselves for the fight they had planned. They stood facing each other with spears held aloft. Backwards and forwards they moved, one step at a time, raising and lowering the spears in a series of jerky movements, at the same moment shouting out various sentences calculated to disturb the evil spirits and inspire themselves with courage. This performance, known as an-ekma or aneema, was practised many times. It is a most important part of the ceremony which precedes battle. Another part of the ritual was to smear their faces, arms and neck with the juice of a fruit called 'sua' (Genipa americana). It stains the skin a deep blue-black colour, but its effects only appear about six hours after its application. With their skins thus blackened, the warriors are supposed to make themselves less visible to the enemy.

The dressing of their long hair was yet another occupation which took up considerable time. They arranged their locks in three pigtails, one wound about the head, the others on either side of the forehead. The latter were bound up with fibre like a couple of sticks. Other ornaments of importance which must receive attention are the ear-tubes, or 'arusa' which are made of straight pieces of cane passing through the lobe of the ear. They have a saying that when wearing these, they fear no danger. Supernatural properties are ascribed to the ear-tubes in the same way that necklaces of jaguars' teeth and bands of snakes' skins are supposed to endow the wearer with the ferocity and cunning

of the respective animals. It was certainly a long business making such elaborate preparations, but obviously no chances were being taken and no stone left unturned that would help them in their task.

An Indian may go into battle fearlessly, but at heart he has a horror of 'meeting with an accident,' and it is with the object of filling himself with strength, courage and confidence for the combat, that he drinks natema and indulges in all the fantastic preliminaries just related. Having duly taken all the precautions that custom considers necessary, he feels that he is fortified against any eventuality."

Suddenly one party makes a raid on the other, cutting down all living creatures, except the young women who are captured and carried off alive. The heads of the men are cut off in order to reduce them later and to be kept as a trophy of war. The whites call these raids correrías.

The enemy is never openly attacked. He is first spied upon in order to find out how he can be attacked most suddenly. If everything is prepared, they attack the house with clamor, kill everything with their spears and disappear with their booty before help can be obtained. As a rule, the raids are carried out in the morning during moonlight, after the raiders have stealthily approached the house. I asked several Aguaruna Indians to mime a sham raid for me.

In recent times, the number of correrías has decreased; nevertheless, I was told in the Muchingis River territory that the Indians were making preparations to attack their arch-enemies, the Huambisas. The oracle, however, had not yet been auspicious. In order to find out whether the correría would be successful, they drink the narcotic decoction of a certain liana which transports them into a state of dreaming in which they have hallucinations by which they judge as to the lucky or unlucky outcome of the intended raid. This liana is called náktém in the Aguaruna language and ayahuasca (a Quichua word meaning "rope of death") by the whites.

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Jivaro Souls

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large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. (Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.⁶

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *akarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or surgery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.⁷ However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they [had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."⁸ The departing arutam souls reportedly

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[825]774
778

[577]

[761]

[157]

[41]

774

152

720

[66]

726

774

[821]

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generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

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[976]
The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an *arutam* soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number is killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his *arutam* soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new *arutam* upon their return home.

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Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new *arutam* souls, and without new *arutam* souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an *arutam* again and to get himself a new soul.

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The acquisition of such a new *arutam* soul not only brings the new power or *hekarma* of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two *arutam* souls simultaneously, but this "lock in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the power of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the soul is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

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By repeatedly killing, one can continuously accumulate power through the replacement of old *arutam* souls with new ones. This "trade in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same *arutam* soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping power-house to wander sightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

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[961]
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724
Since a man with an *arutam* soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his *arutam* soul away from him or a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process

Harner]

Jivaro Soul

This Soul-destroying or softening process

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of sulfur (Bismarck up), beating a big signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's spirit soul is weakening mortally, it may one night beat the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his soul for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor."

The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and then definitely—under the spirit of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his spirit soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was talking in bewilderment or speech. In any case, an attack is made only if the victim believes that the potential victim has lost his spirit soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal enmity which the Jivaro believes comes from killing has some racial quality. A man who has killed especially, called *shakawa* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Several spirit souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the spirit soul of an enemy by beating a big signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest at night, without the usual illumination of a rapid torch, in the hope of encountering an spirit in the darkness.

Shamans always possess spirit souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's spirit soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two spirit souls, the shaman picks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his spirit soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The spirit soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Then, at death, he does not have any of the spirit souls left which temporarily dwell in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his new spirit souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five spirit souls, then at the moment of death he has five new spirit souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created spirit souls of the dead man will live eternally, dwelling as hovers and temporarily entering into the bodies of

/324 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

[342] The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more vic-
 [574] tims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly
 [576] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma-
 [231] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one
 door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at
 the other, hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in con-
 628 nection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which,
 698 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be-
 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes;
 larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and
 battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of
 quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors.
 Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint
 war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and
 plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among them-
 [161] selves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about
 [44] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable
 [177] in the region of the Jivaro, and it is being accelerated by
 epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which
 appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jivaro themselves do not place very
 much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps
 there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed
 blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the
 one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is re-
 garded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the
 enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular
 • 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately
 48 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a
 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a
 man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) pro-
 vided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet
 long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in
 a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

• 726 /334 cont./

411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steady-
ness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this

302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[729] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[264] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
273 gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[574] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless
[431] drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

THE JIVARO: BACKGROUND

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175 distributed in those parts, that all might become blood and fire.
 648 The fear of being destroyed by the Jibaros caused the two faint-hearted nations of Macas and Huamboyas to agree to the resolved plan; but only in appearance, and without intention to co-operate in the massacre, except to keep the secret and to put all of themselves out of danger.

175 The fatal day came with the arrival of the Governor at Logroño, without any aspect of the conspiracy having leaked out up to then. The Spaniards slept quite without worry in the unfortunate city when it was taken cautiously, at midnight, by the enemy army. This exceeded 20,000 Indians, according to recorded report, outside of the troops who had already marched to Sevilla and to Huamboya. Surrounding the city, they invaded and occupied all of its sections simultaneously, so that the Spaniards would not be able to unite, and they were forced to die in their own homes.

175 The principal chief, Quirruha, who had carried out all of the preparations with great cunning, took possession of the house in which the Governor was staying. Surrounding the house, Quirruha entered it with sufficient troops, carrying all the gold that his nation had amassed for the celebrations; and at the same time the implements for melting it. They killed all the people who were inside, except for the Governor, who was in a state of undress because of the surprise. They told him that it was now time for him to receive the tax of gold which he had ordered prepared.

They stripped him completely naked, tied his hands and feet; and while some amused themselves with him, delivering a thousand castigations and jests, the others set up a large forge in the courtyard, where they melted the gold. When it was ready in the crucibles, they opened his mouth with a bone, saying that they wanted to see if for once he had enough gold. They poured it little by little, and then forced it down with another bone; and bursting his bowels with the torture, all raised a clamor and laughter.

With the completion of this horrible sacrifice around dawn,

all of the city was also finished, without scarcely a single man escaping. The encirclement was maintained until the next day, when they extinguished the torches of copal that had burned in all the streets and houses. While they searched for those in hiding, and looted all that they were able to carry, they sent part of the army to the other two cities, in case more help was needed.

Of all the females they had spared, they killed the old and the very young who could only be a burden, and saved the rest for their use. Among this number were almost all of the nuns of a monastery of the Conception founded a few years earlier, because except for the old women who founded it, the rest were young. Before midday they received the news that nothing had been carried out against the capital, because of the failure of the Macas to keep their word. Therefore, they sent more troops, leaving in Logroño those necessary to guard the females and the booty, and to complete the ruin by burning the houses one by one.

In the capital of Sevilla del Oro, 15 leagues distant, neither was the conspiracy discovered until the morning of the same fatal day. The Macas, being cowards, or rather being loyal to the Spaniards, did not resolve to co-operate; but neither did they have the courage to reveal the secret in time, out of fear of their mortal enemies. Those who were somewhat distant from the capital retired to the forests before the appointed day, and some of those closest to the capital fled into the city with their families, food and belongings, saying that they had learned that the Jivaros of the Morona were going to destroy the cities and settlements of the government that night; because of that it was necessary for the Spaniards to be called to arms and to prepare a defense.

The number of inhabitants of the capital was great, but the major part useless in the situation, and could only serve as a hindrance. They had many weapons put away since the Conquest, but without maintenance and with very little gunpowder: the cavalry was almost nonexistent, because it was useless in the country: the consternation was excessive; because each one was

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thinking more of saving his family and possessions than of the common defense, it was difficult to conduct it to advantage: nevertheless, the city and royal officials tried hard to make as much preparation as was possible, intrenching the streets, and placing those under arms in the locations of the most danger, not having forces or preparation for a battle outside the city.

The officials transported all of the royal treasury and its boxes to the main church, fortifying it as a citadel and final refuge. They also fortified the church of the nuns of the Conception, cramming into it all of the women and children. At nightfall, a portion of the inhabitants of the town of Huamboya, 16 leagues distant, entered the city, having sent all of the rest to Riobamba and its environs. All of these fled, abandoning their houses and goods, because at dawn that day they learned, from a lone sick Indian who had remained, that all the people of his nation had retreated to the Cordillera de Caballón, fleeing the Jharos, who were going to destroy everyone that night.

They rejoiced in Sevilla del Oro with the recruitment of those people, and posed all the night on watch, awaiting the enemy. Seeing that they neither appeared the next day, they began to doubt the existence of the conspiracy. They thus won time to complete the defense somewhat more, to bring in a supply of food from the neighboring countryside, and to gather the Spaniards sprinkled in the mining camps and small settlements of the district.

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The reason that the barbarians postponed the appointed time by 24 hours was because the Macas, who were summoned to join with them and to lead them, as guides, to the city, did not appear at their appointed meeting place. Finding the Macas to be unfaithful, they delayed the march, and sent word to Legroselo to supply more troops. These arrived between midnight and dawn the next day, and together they marched against Sevilla del Oro, burning with desire to avenge themselves, not so much against the Spaniards, as against the Macas Indians, for having broken their promise.

The Spaniards worked themselves up into going forth onto the

175 adjacent plain to see if they could stop the invasion of the city,
648 which the barbarians surrounded at daybreak, as conquerors and
• 726 proclaiming a victory ahead of time. They were received with a
volley that made them halt their advance. The initial impetus
was checked for a while because of the many dead; later, ob-
serving that the shots of the guns, the only weapons they feared,
were continually becoming less frequent, and knowing that the
Spaniards were short on powder, they made bold to that, wield-
ing their lances, they compelled the Spaniards to retreat to the
trenches of the city.

[714] The Jivaro did not fear the swords, pikes, or lances, protected
by a kind of buckler and very strong round shields. All day
they made so many assaults of such a furious nature that, fight-
ing hand to hand, they succeeded in piercing the trenches and
in taking possession of almost all of the city. The confusion and
massacre of thousands grew here and there in various small
battles in the streets and plazas, until with the arrival of night
the barbarians were satisfied to set fire to many portions of the
city, and to make their withdrawal.

175 One Jivaro, unable to follow the rest because he had lost both
648 legs, was found among the dead. This was the only person
through whom it was known afterward that which has been
recounted with regard to the conspiracy and tragedy of Lo-
grobo: because he was one of those being from that same city,
who helped in the sacrifice of the unfortunate Governor. It was
not known then or later what the Jivaro did in the town of
Mendoza, nor finding in it either Spaniards or Indians.

175 Neither could it be known with certainty the number of dead
648 in the two cities. It appears by the minimum calculation that in
727 Logrobo they did not exceed more than 12 thousand inhabitants
of all kinds and ages, because it was a medium-sized city; but
of all of them none was spared except the servicable women,
who would have preferred to have died than to be carried off as
captives by the barbarians. Of the capital of Sevilla del Oro,
which is on record as having been large and populous, with

Chapter II

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

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I am like an anaconda.
No one can get near my house
Because there is a lake around it.
I am a jaguar,
The bravest that is,
And no one
Can get near my house.

*Sung by a man to his enemies
when he believes that they are
about to attack*

595 The center of Jivaro life is the individual house, normally
351 occupied by a polygynous nuclear family and surrounded by
a garden in deep isolation in the forest. The house is typically
built beside a small stream on a hillock where there are stands
of soft or medium-hard wood. Such trees, especially palms,
are easy to cut down to make garden clearings and are also
preferred for house construction and firewood. The location
of the house on high ground is not only better for drainage,
but also furnishes a view across the surrounding garden to
facilitate defensive fire in case of enemy attack (see Plate 2).

342 The dwelling is usually a large and well-made structure,
oval in ground plan, with a single-gabled roof (see Figure 1).
The roof is made of closely woven *kampanakā* palm thatch
and is supported by nine center posts as well as by the smaller
[712] house wall posts. The windowless wall is built of stout
chonta palm (*Guilielma* sp.) staves set vertically into the
ground about an inch apart to permit light and air to enter,

/p. 41/ /text continues on
p. 43/

- 262 feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not
 574 be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally,
 765 however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essen-
 [231] tially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.
 [146] At least one or two dogs are kept in most households.
 231 These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned
 [224] earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc
 [241] tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A fam-
 ily without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much
 of its garden produce within a few months. An equally im-
 • [726] portant service that they provide is to act as watchdogs
 against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end
 of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually
 results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to
 defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking in-
 dicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attack-
 [825] ing party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for
 dog, *miruá*, is the same term used to designate the feared
 and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden,
 and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they re-
 [794] ceive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives ob-
 serves a kind of *couvade*, in which she lies abed with the bitch
 to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is
 nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in
 adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its
 owners, and is fed pre-masticated manioc in a special wooden
 [276] dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic
Datura to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet be-
 [439] sides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets,
 parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jivaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained.

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons.

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *tsunai* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles.

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jivaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached

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that they are not on a hostile mission of wrath. Upon arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and food, in keeping with Jivaro etiquette. The host is also honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peacefully, at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even though the woman serving it dips her hand into the bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakawam* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakawam* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors such as his desire to accumulate *awtam* soul power through killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate probably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jivaro recognize that one of the major motivations for asking a *kakawam* who is an enemy for killing assistance is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

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701 least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for
 725 the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakoram*, since
 • 726 he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp.
 [593] 131-43), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded.
 [761] While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work
 fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakoram*
 may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who
 attacked him.

728 After the successful completion of the killing expedition,
 701 and if there has been no unwelcome incident, all the partici-
 pants return to the *kakoram's* house, since, according to
 custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure
 and return the house of the leader. There he will formally
 point out to those who invited him that although they are
 his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an
 enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to con-
 tinue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to
 live in peace. Invariably the invaders reply that they, too,
 wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be
 essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding
 effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

701 A *kakoram* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions
 721 by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and
 628 other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with
 an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who
 invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist
 him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it.
 Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes
 a *ti kakoram* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically
 have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods
 and some of the men of a number of other localities. How-
 ever, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response
 to a particular request will be very much conditioned by
 their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

own self-interest. By the time a *ti kakaram* is achieving such status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, instead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually send his sons or sons-in-law. 701
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A famous *kakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invitation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-Jivaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *kakaram* and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than the intra-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond anything that he could do directly. He will guide the *kakaram* and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide a *chugan* as a token of appreciation. 701
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The co-operation provided by such non-*antawari* *huarā* invaders has sometimes made it possible for the Jivaro to travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered case, the assistance given by a *tsunna* *huarā* (Huambisa) inviter-guide made it possible for a Jivaro expedition to pass down the Río Santiago by canoe through the entire Huambisa tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household on the Río Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche. [727]
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Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*uwilim*), more numerous than outstanding killers, often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The 756

- 721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.
- 628 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147-48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.
- 726 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is
701 a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or
727 four persons.² When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he
554 asks an *umtá* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly
624 man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wes*,
or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the
raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of
the expected participants in the expedition build the *wes* a
new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually
taking some months.
- 726 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the
702 planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara
neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most
likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

as a "recruiter" to visit other neighborhoods to invite men to join the expedition. The recruiter personally visits every house where he thinks he may find a willing participant. When he arrives in a new neighborhood, he first visits the house of a known friendly relative. The latter acts as his protector and takes him to visit every likely household in the locality. Then, if there are adjacent neighborhoods where the relative has a friendly kinsman but the recruiter does not, the relative may send a son along with him to protect and introduce him to potential recruits. In this manner, a recruiter can canvass a dozen neighborhoods, although generally the number is only half that many. When the recruiter reaches the most distant neighborhood and prepares to return home, he sends a new recruit ahead on the return trail to notify the people of the next neighborhood to prepare for the arrival of the war party. The men of the next neighborhood thus have time to get ready to leave on the expedition, and also the women can prepare food and beer for the arriving group. The other neighborhoods along the route are similarly notified as the expedition progresses. Finally, all members of the war party, normally numbering about thirty or forty, arrive at the house of the *wes*. As each enters the house, he engages in a ritualistic shouting chant (*enemwazin*) with the *wes*. During the chanting each man stamps back and forth in turn, thrusting his shotgun in rhythm, as though threatening the other speaker. This chant, which primarily focuses on establishing the identity and demonstrating the supernatural power of the speakers, is also used when complete strangers happen to encounter one another on a trail.²

The party may spend two to four days at the house, preparing rations for the trail. On the day of departure, they wake a few hours before dawn, form two lines and perform the chant simultaneously until close to daybreak. Then

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- 726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the wine
 [829] declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This
 [226] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on
 [251] fish much more than the Jivaro, and to the *ramos* which are
 [727] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are
 brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them
 fresh.

701 The *hakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
 624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
 726 beyond the usual word. There may be two war chiefs if the
 [554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the ex-
 pedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s)
 is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other
 members of the party, but only for the duration of the ex-
 pedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rig-
 [789] orous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party
 who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and
 therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is
 invariably excused from such participation. In the actual
 attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors
 are backed up by a few *hakaram* who encourage their ad-
 vance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
 703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
 602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
 628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
 726 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another
 expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize
 a large force despite the fact that many of its members may
 be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the
 ability of the Jivaro to ally against outside invaders in the
 past.

With the entrance of the raiding group into the alien wife's region, strict silence is maintained and women are sent ahead. The latter, usually five in number, make back and forth through the forest across the trail, to avoid being surprised by Achuara hunters. The main body of men follows the women, but simply keeps to the trail itself. 726 •

At nightfall, the entire party stops, while the women remain awake, camped at an outpost on the trail ahead. The main body constructs *kan-ou's* and sleeps, except for one man who is sent several hundred yards ahead to act as a sentry until about 1 a.m., when he returns. Then the main group arises at about 1 or 3 a.m., eats, and continues on the trail. When they reach the next outpost, the women are relieved by a new group which proceeds on ahead of the main body. The former women go back down the trail to sleep in the *kan-ou's* where the main party had spent the night.

The actual attack is carried out only on a house where the women find the enemy unwarned. Usually a single house is attacked, but sometimes two may be smashed simultaneously, and the attackers may use palm-wood thrusting lances, bayonet-style, to supplement their muzzle-loaders. Often the roof of the house is set afire to drive the inhabitants out into the open. Heads are taken of all victims, regardless of age or sex. A man may seize an Achuara girl or woman as a captive to try to take her home to be an extra wife, but usually he is unsuccessful in this because one of his companions kills her on the homeward trail to secure a head trophy. 727 583

The capture of women sometimes goes in the other direction, and can involve children as well. A male informant recounted that when he was a small child, the Huambian attacked his house in the Rio Yousi region, killed his father, and captured his mother and himself. After several years in their captor's household, they escaped and, after an arduous jour-

partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and dalliance may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and dalliance to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

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178 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose partici-
 721 pants and their relatives have a vested interest in the mainte-
 441 nance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives
 of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own
 tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The
 Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trad-
 ing system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the
 Jivaro.

178 Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced
 411 palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons
 both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with
 • 726 the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in
 [342] attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed
 [712] palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the
 [714] latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round
 wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are
 likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy
 against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare
 [796] ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such cere-
 [727] monial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency
 as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking
 raids.

178 Changes in house construction during the past few dec-
 342 ades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of fire-
 411 arms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was
 712 sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from
 726 which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such
 towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by
 attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers
 untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged
 the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs
 inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsentsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has

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